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cabin, bunkhouse, and the residences of sons-in-law. From here the people go out to hunt, fish, and trap from early fall to late spring. Such a settlement is generally identified with its oldest resident, who lives here with his family and anyone else who has been invited or accepted to trap on the owner's trap line. Due to the long period in which brush and firewood have been gathered around most settlements, the surrounding area is generally well cleared and presents a spacious open appearance in the otherwise forested environment. An attempt is made to keep the immediate environs of a settlement free of willow and other brush (see Fig. 5).

As has already been pointed out, the structures in a settlement are arranged without regard to pattern. Generally they are on one side of a worn and narrow path which skirts the river. From the settlement, trails radiate to other settlements, to Lower Post, and to the trap line. It is not unusual for settlements to be moved a short distance up or downstream and even across the river. Such moving probably occurs when the wood supply in a vicinity becomes exhausted.

Garbage and slop, which is not fed to dogs, is commonly poured over the cutbank. Behind the settlement, in the toilet brush, one encounters piles of moosehair and discarded clothing.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

The most important of the exploitative activities discussed—hunting and trapping—can be efficiently carried on only after the people have moved from the relatively populous trading center to the isolated winter settlements. Here it is once more necessary for each family to spread out across the surrounding country to intercept game and fur. Since a considerable portion of the resources derived from the environment are not directly consumed, but are exchanged for traders' food and capital goods, movement back to the trading post is also essential. In brief, Kaska society is, by adaptive necessity, extremely dependent upon mobility.

Two types of travel and transportation may be distinguished for the Indians, long distance and local movement. The first type includes the movement of people with their furs and belongings to Lower Post and their return to the winter homes with food and other supplies. The distance involved in such travel varies, depending on the tribal district and the location of the winter settlement within it. Generally in this form of transportation, goods must be hauled from fifteen to seventy miles. The second type, local movement, designates the mobility of people and goods taking place within the tribal district. Such local travel includes the movement of persons from the settlements to temporary hunting and trap line camps, to fishing sites, and to neighboring winter settlements.

In order to avoid the needless duplication of the words "travel and transportation" it may be pointed out that practically all travel involves the simultaneous transportation of goods. Similarly transportation cannot be accomplished without travel by the owner or his representative. In general a person rarely undertakes more than a day's travel without company.

Summer travel is carried out over trails and rivers. In winter people generally travel over trails, although they also utilize the frozen surfaces of rivers and lakes. Summer trails are

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generally narrow, cleared only enough to permit the transit of dogs and people traveling in single file. Winter trails are better cleared and cut wider, in order to accommodate loaded toboggans and people on snowshoes. Travelers in summer may follow part of a winter trail, but generally the latter are direct routes while in summer people must bypass lakes, sloughs, and the bends of rivers.

Both summer and winter trails are marked by blazed trees which, in a well wooded area, are spaced about a hundred feet apart. In addition, men who are hunting in an unfamiliar region may make temporary blazes to guide them on their return to camp or on a subsequent visit to a meat cache. Temporary blazing consists of breaking willow branches in the direction taken. Sometimes a forked stick is planted in soft ground and another thin pole laid in the fork to point direction. In early fall, a safe crossing on newly formed ice may be marked by three or four foot long poles stuck in the snow.

Trails usually follow the contour of a country. They never adhere to the meandering courses of rivers but always portage across points of land or, in winter, arms of water, in order to save distance. A trail usually ascends a ridge diagonally rather than proceeding straight up the face. In winter, the open face of such a diagonal ascent may be bulwarked with small black spruce trees laid lengthwise along the trail. Such a bulwark guards a toboggan from sliding down the otherwise open hillside. Spruce poles, roughly trimmed of brush, may also be extended from an ascent into the branches of trees growing below the trail. Such poles are placed about four feet apart and also serve to prevent a vehicle from overturning, should it slip from the ridge. Further protection is achieved by banking ascents with snow which is kicked from the overhanging slope with snowshoes.

Windfalls are removed from winter trails if they are small enough to cut with an ax and light enough to lift aside. Otherwise fallen timber may be axed in half and pushed down into the snow. When a heavy windfall blocks a trail, small sticks and snow are kicked up to make an embankment, on which the toboggan can pass over the obstacle, or else the vehicle is lifted across the block. Winter trails are maintained by whoever uses them. A man making his first trip to the trap line in autumn will cut whatever overhanging branches and windfalls obstruct his passage. With the first snow he will bulwark ascents to ridges and cut more brush. Anyone else using the trail is free to benefit from these improvements.

In summer, trails cross small creeks by means of bridges constructed by felling from one to three trees, four or five inches in diameter, across the stream. These are trimmed of branches and moved close together. Bridges are also constructed by throwing down four or five saplings, two or three inches in diameter. Large rivers are crossed by rafts.

Many points along trails and rivers are designated by place names. Such identifications are freely coined and usually originate from some outstanding feature of the site or from some memorable event associated with that place. Thus a long ridge overlooking a wide stretch of country is called See the Country. A lake is known as Excited Lake, Old Man explained, because "People come there. They stay one night. They don't know how to go on, go back, or cross the mountain. Talking, talking; finally fighting [arguing] going on. They turn back." River Joe calls a slough below his winter settlement by the name of his daughter, who was born there in a temporary camp. An island in the Liard River is known as Natsitsi ("Long Face") Island. Natsitsi was one of Old Man's dogs. One year, as the family was

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although this is also done. When a boat is to be pushed, manilla line or a pair of spruce saplings are used to fasten the vessels together. If poles are used, one end of each pole is bent to fit into the gunwales of each boat where the ends are lashed. This device is said to prevent the boats from breaking if they drop down a shelf of swift water. If two boats are used in conjunction, dogs generally ride in the forward craft and passengers with goods behind.

Once, in rainy weather, Louis Maza erected a mosquito tent in his boat. The tent was placed over a pair of bent spruce saplings anchored in the gunwales and forming an arc. The front and rear ties of the shelter were attached to the gunwales. Under this shelter rode Louis' wife, infant son, and Irene Wiley with her baby. Louis and his fourteen year old daughter, Eleanor, alternated running the outboard. The ethnographer met the party as he and Nitla were fishing downriver in a plywood canoe. Louis signalled to Nitla and the two vessels were lashed together side by side with only a slight reduction of speed on Louis' part. The journey was then resumed with all the passengers in the larger vessel.

In fall, boats are removed from water and stored high on the shore in order to prevent the spring break-up from smashing them.

Routine of travel. In contrast to the leisurely life of the Indians in camp, considerably more determination marks travel behavior once a journey has been undertaken. An effort is made to begin long journeys by getting a start early in the day, in winter sometimes an hour or two before sunrise. The demolition of the camp and the packing of the household equipment is undertaken by women while men transport the goods to boat or toboggan When the tent has been taken down, the poles which supported the structure are left standing. This, however, is scarcely for the convenience of the next comer as only rarely will one family camp in another's campsite. Farewells, beyond a casual good-bye, are rarely taken, even when a family expects to be gone for a long period.

On walking trips, rest stops are frequently initiated by the leader of the party, but these stops are of only brief duration, particularly in winter. Smoking is a common feature of such rests. People try to cover at least half the distance of a day's journey before pausing for lunch. Lunch stops are marked by a fire and the preparation of tea; they seldom last more than forty-five minutes.

In the course of winter travel, fire is always made as soon as any member of a party complains of serious chilling. If gloved hands perspire in the course of a journey, they are exposed to the cold until chilled and then regloved; this prevents the mittens from becoming damp with perspiration and freezing. Should the fingers become cold in walking they are held lightly clenched within the mittens and the arms swung. Against the dampness absorbed from falling snow, there is no protection while traveling. When camp is reached, however, clothes are thoroughly dried or changed for fresh garments. The blanched faces of some people returning to the trading post in spring indicate that individuals are often careless or unaware of the danger of frostbite. No chances are taken with wet moccasins, however, and footwear is promptly dried or changed should it become wet.

Camp is generally made shortly before dark. If women accompany the party, they now take over the task of cutting poles and laying brush while men transport the necessary things from the craft or vehicle and perhaps start a fire. Unneeded supplies are left in the

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vessel covered with a tarp. If goods must be unloaded from a boat before reaching the final destination of a journey, they are stored on the shore and, if rain is expected, placed on poles and covered with a tarp. In contrast to the absence of farewells, greetings are warm. People meeting in Lower Post after a winter's absence in the bush always shake hands with expressions of pleasure.

Indians are usually enthusiastic about travel. The same anticipation and pleasure marks a family's return to Lower Post in the spring which characterizes their start home in the fall. Hunting trips, when the decision has been made to start, are always undertaken with exuberant optimism and enjoyment. Less eagerness marks the start of a trap line tour. There is a commonly expressed attitude of disdain for "sitting one place all the time like white man." Any prolonged camping in one spot quickly becomes tiresome and dull. This ennui is manifested in several ways. People complain of how much it is costing them to live in town; a man remembers that soon the bull moose will begin to run and lose his fat, hence the time to get meat is running short; somebody else expresses pity for the "starving" dogs who need fish and meat. Often the decision to move is made with little warning. One day may be spent finishing new dog packs or belatedly buying supplies, and the next morning the eager barking of the dogs gives notice that the family is off.

Despite the frequency of travel, families seldom move solely for pleasure and rarely go beyond the limits of the tribal district except to visit the trading post. A man's youth is ideally a time for wider travel but such longer journeys never succeed in permanently luring a man from the Kaska area. As Nitla explained it, people in a strange place are apt to become lonesome for their country and this homesickness takes considerable time to wear off. Before it has had a chance to disappear, the youth has started back to his people.

FOOD, DRINK, AND INDULGENCE

Few Indians, except possibly some members of the Frances Lake tribe, any longer strive to maintain themselves primarily on game and fish. Although meat and fish are of both gustatory and economic importance, they are not in themselves depended on for subsistence, survival being closely bound up with the foodstuffs supplied by white traders. In winter when the Indians are far from the trading post and heavily dependent on the goods which were transported in the fall, an adequate supply of food is an indispensable guarantee against hunger anxiety. Food also has capital value. A sufficient stock of accumulated foodstuffs means that, once the trapping season opens, time and effort can be concentrated in the business of getting skins rather than diffused between hunting and trapping. Hunting is ideally to be pursued in autumn, not only because at that time game is fat from rich summer living, but because then time is available for this activity and the meat obtained will allow purchased provisions to stretch through the winter. Fishing in late summer and fall is of similar economic importance. These reasons explain in part the strong emotion which Indians invest in a supply of things to eat. They also help to demonstrate why the value of food in Kaska society is comparable to that of money in our own.

The Kaska refer to two kinds of food, meat and "grub." Meat categorically includes fish and any game animals or fowl killed for eating. Grub designates any food purchased from the traders, including flour, rice, canned meat, and fruit. Each family is expected to supply

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431 576 616 Potlatch. Apart from Christmas parties tendered to children by the missionaries, the most important festival is the potlatch. This occasion is ideally a presentation of food by the members of one matrilineal moiety to those of the other and is designed to honor the memory of one or more deceased members of the hosts' side. The "Wolf party" observed in 1945, however, included guests belonging to both moieties and was organized and financed by a Crow man and his Wolf daughters. A few days after the Wolf party, Louis Maza apologized, explaining that he was "a little crazy" the day of the potlatch when he had let both moieties eat. He blamed his confusion on having been intoxicated the morning of the festival. His apology indicated that people had commented on the mixing, regarding it as incorrect. Louis stated that the subsequent Crow party would not be mixed. His promise was partly fulfilled, in that eating was limited to adult guests of the Wolf side, but children belonging to both moieties were served. Prior to 1945, the last potlatch in the Kaska area is reported to have taken place at McDame Creek around 1930.

431 616 Ideally a potlatch is organized by a deceased person's brothers or maternal uncles. Manifestly, however, fathers, daughters, and husbands were observed to organize these parties. The male organizers undertake the task of securing the food to be eaten, while sisters and female parallel cousins cooperate in the cooking and serving. The Wolf party, [765] which was designed to honor the memory of Mrs. River Joe who had died nine months previously, was directed by River Joe and his son-in-law, Louis Maza (both Crow), while the food preparation was under the control of Joe's several Wolf daughters and their parallel cousins. This potlatch, like the following Crow party, was celebrated in Louis Maza's large home. Financial support was contributed by a majority of the members of the Wolf side, about $120 being collected. The functions of the party, as stated by River Joe, were to "help" the deceased, to have "fun," and to "Make good time for [in memory of] my missus." A chronological record of events marking the first potlatch of 1945 is given below.

431 484 6:11:45. In the presence of River Joe, Old Man explained that there might be a potlatch in memory of River Joe's wife who died last October. He explained that Skipper or the latter's brother could "make" such a potlatch, because they belonged to the dead woman's side.

7:1:45. River Joe went to Teslin Lake in order to fetch his daughter and the latter's Taku Indian husband.

7:5:45. River Joe returned from Teslin Lake in his son-in-law's truck. He was fired with the idea of giving a "potlatch party" for his wife but quite resented the notion that this would be an old fashioned procedure, pointing out that at Teslin village the Indians all observed this custom.

7:6:45. River Joe and his sons-in-law, Louis Maza and the Taku youth, went to the Hudson's Bay Company with the latter's truck. Here they bought a large quantity of food and piled it in the back of the vehicle which then proceeded to Louis' home where the cooking would be done. River Joe announced he would collect money from the members of his wife's side who were camping across the river.

431 7:7:45. Today River Joe's daughters cooked and baked for the Wolf party tomorrow. River Joe said that his daughters were giving the potlatch for their mother, but that he had also contributed fifteen dollars to the expenses. "Me boss that party. Bye and bye somebody lose his missus. He boss for him." He agreed that the decision for a potlatch was (could be?) in the hands of the widower. Louis Maza indicated that the potlatch might last for six days and refused to consider the possibility of the police blocking it as a result of the meningitis quarantine attached to the reserve where his house is located.

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Frances Lake
Upper Liard

formants, who were young men with records of considerable time spent in the Liard Valley. It is likely that the patterns already presented also largely obtained in the Frances Lake area.[17]

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Upper Liard Kaska. Foodgetting among the Indians of the taiga depended thoroughly upon mobility. Although a little travel occurred for other purposes, two main patterns of mobility may be distinguished. First, groups of people moved with their belongings to various parts of the tribal territory in search of new food resources to exploit. Such travel took place, for example, in the fall when the population moved to the mountains and again in early winter when they journeyed down to fish lakes. Second, there took place a great deal of "short term" travel, required of men pursuing game or of women visiting fish nets and berry patches. The Indians remained mobile in every season but the techniques of travel differed to a considerable extent between winter and summer. With snow on the ground and bodies of water covered with ice the toboggan and snowshoe provided the basic travel aids while in the season of open water travelers relied on the canoe, paddle, and raft.

Animal skins as well as wood were utilized for toboggans. Beaver skins prepared with the hair served well for traction, the smoothness of the pelt aiding their easy passage over the snow. Three such skins sewn together constituted a good sized vehicle. A number of skins from the hind legs of moose or caribou might also be sewn together with sinew to make a toboggan six feet long and two feet wide. To hold goods securely the rear portions of skin toboggans were stitched "like a baby bag." Prepared by a woman, a skin vehicle would last a winter or even two if stored in a dry place when the snow began to melt. A man manufactured undecorated wooden toboggans, tamarack being the preferred material. After splitting the green wood with a wedge he planed the boards with his stone knife. Wood from the exterior section of the tree bent most readily, the bending process being accomplished by moistening the lumber with warm water and then forcing the board back "against a pole."[18] The running boards were sewn to cross

[17] Similar patterns are reported for the Pelly River people by Field, who says, for example, that the Pelly River people moved into "a good game country about the end of August when all game is fat, to put up a cache of dry meat for the winter months." In fall women busied themselves drying groundhog and gopher. The Indians of the Ross and Pelly valleys subsisted primarily on meat and fish. Men "used bows and arrows to hunt with, spears, snares, deadfalls also. They would make long fences when the caribou and sheep came below timberline, sometimes packing poles to make their fences up with on top of the mountains. They would leave spaces big enough for a caribou or sheep to go through in their fences and get snared in them. Whenever a herd was sighted they would try to surround them and drive them through their fences." Cordage for snares came from twisted "sinew or caribou skin raw" and the line was anchored to a movable pole toggle. "Beaver the Indian kills every way, with nets in winter, spears and shoots them . . . and kills them with a club." The gaff stick also served in hunting beaver. (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913].) An Upper Liard informant (0) reported with some distaste that the Ross River Indians deliberately cultivated mold in meat that was later cooked. Such meat proved too strong for the taste of the Liard River people.

[18] The method no doubt resembled that executed by a Frances Lake Indian in 1945. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 60, 73–74; also Pl. 6, A and B.

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forward crosspiece, came up from below and bent across the 25–7 strand from above (27), bent across the forward crosspiece from above (3), then twisted three times around the 3–14 strand between the forward crosspiece and the 25–7 strand, and twisted around the 25–7 strand enroute to the left hand frame, where the line knotted at station 25 with a single overhand knot that included one part of the 25–7 strand.

Two types of harness, both made from smoked-skin line, secured the snowshoe to the moccasin-covered foot. One of these is said to have been introduced into the area from Fort Liard and is currently referred to as the "Nelson type" (Fig. 4, CENTER RIGHT). The other was in use among the Liard River and "Tlingit" (probably Taku) people (Fig. 4, LOWER RIGHT).

To avoid slipping on steep inclines four bone pins were sometimes inserted into holes provided at the bottom of each snowshoe. The pins projected about an inch from the wood. The snowshoe staff further aided walking in hilly country. It consisted of a stick about four feet long with a hoop that was laced with babiche line. The hoop was located a short distance from the lower end of the staff and consisted of a short length of willow bent and lashed in the form of a circle. The filling served to keep the hoop affixed to the staff. A man prepared wood for this implement while women customarily added the filling. No distinctive staff for the snowshoe staff could be learned, informants designating it merely as "walking stick." Morice, however, has translated the Carrier name for this implement as referring to the "circular attachment which prevents it [the staff] from sinking too much in the snow."[25] Men wore snow glasses when traveling across snow made bright by the spring sun. These implements consisted of strips of tanned skin or birch bark provided with eye slits. The area around the slits was blackened with charcoal to further reduce glare.

Land travel in summer or winter generally involved men walking in advance of the women, who remained in charge of children and household goods. This pattern left men free to intercept or follow game, reduced disturbance that might drive away game, and also enabled men to prepare sufficient wood for a comfortable camp before the women arrived. Sometimes women and children did not reach a camp until midnight. In autumn, enroute to the ground-hog trapping grounds in the mountains, a number of families moved together, the men scouting for moose and the women walking in old and well-defined trails. People crossed streams on rafts as well as on log bridges constructed by felling either one, two, or three thin trees or by shifting an already fallen tree into position to serve as a span. In traveling to a game kill, as well as in other types of cross country movement, Indians sometimes indicated their route by blazes. One type of blaze consisted of a willow or other branch broken in the specified direction. In an "open place" the route might be indicated by hanging moss in trees, while up in the barren mountain tundra, which composed a sizable part of the Kaska territory, successive rock piles served as guides. River valleys were commonly referred to in giving

[25] Morice, *Carrier Language* (1932), 62. Lantis describes a similar "snowshoe stick" in use among the Nunivak Eskimo. (Lantis, *Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* [1946], 167.) While informants among the Attawapiskat Cree Indians of James Bay denied the use of snowshoe pegs or the snowshoe staff the counterpart of the latter may have existed in "crutches" with a webbed lower end. These allowed lame persons to support themselves on snow. Honigmann, *Attawapiskat field notes* (1947–48).

7/1 [Erratum. Probably meant "name" — Analyst]